by the Socialist Opposition through the German minority's eleventh-hour renunciation of the subsidy. In the following November a Bill tabled by Socialist initiative was passed, depriving members of the national minorities of the right to benefit from the distribution of confiscated lands to ex-servicemen, on the ground that they had not shared in the struggle for Latvian independence. These moves, which were primarily designed to overthrow the Government by creating a strong nationalist feeling, were regarded by the German minority as an insult aimed directly at themselves, and they proceeded to withdraw their representative, Herr Berent, from the Cabinet as a protest.

In 1931, under the bourgeois-conservative Ulmanis Government formed in May, and later under the nationalist-bourgeois Skujenieks Ministry of November, there were further attacks on the privileges of the minorities. A new law prescribing the exclusive use of Lettish in the *Saeima*[1] was rejected in December of that year, but an emergency decree issued in October deprived the Germans of all rights over Riga Cathedral, its museum, and its vicarages, which had been in their hands for over 700 years, a measure which aroused the more resentment since a proposal to this effect had already been rejected by the *Saeima* in the previous May and by a plebiscite held in the summer.

The Polish minority, too, came in for its share of attention in the autumn of 1931; the closing of six elementary Polish schools, the suppression of a Polish newspaper, the suspension of the Polish League of Catholic Youth and the Association of Latgalian Poles, and the latter's final dissolution, led to the resignation of one of the Polish deputies in the *Saeima*. But, when the wave of strong nationalist feeling due to the elections had subsided, conditions improved somewhat, and in March 1932 the Poles were allowed full cultural autonomy again.

Under the dictatorship established in May 1934 the privileges of the minorities sustained a fresh series of assaults. Two decrees were issued in June; the first providing that, in families where either of the parents was of Lettish nationality, the children must attend Lettish schools, and that, where the father and mother belonged to different national minorities, the father's nationality, rather than the language spoken in the household, was to be the decisive factor; the second prescribing Lettish as the sole written or spoken language in all State and communal services, except in districts at least half of whose inhabitants were registered at the last census as speaking a language other than Lettish. In July the German Autonomous

[1] Hitherto, both Russian and German had customarily been spoken in the *Saeima*, in addition to Lettish, though there was no law specifically permitting their use.

Educational Board was abolished, and special officials (a German, a Russian, a Pole, and a Jew) have since been put in charge of the educational affairs of their respective national groups. A further blow was struck with the issue of a new decree in January 1935, requiring all public and private economic undertakings to keep their books and conduct their correspondence and general business in the Lettish language. In June twelve Polish schools were closed.

Finally, on New Year's Day of 1936, came the unkindest cut of all, when decrees were issued setting up State Chambers of Trade and of Industry and Commerce, and providing for the eventual dissolution of other economic organizations such as the German guilds, which had existed for some 700 years, and the transfer of their property to the new Chambers or to the local administrations. This measure aroused the resentment not only of the German minority in Latvia, which presented a memorandum on the question to the Government, but also of the German Government, which took up the cudgels on their behalf. On January 16, 1936, the Latvian Minister in Berlin handed in a protest against the violent anti-Latvian press campaign which ensued; on the 22nd the German Minister in Riga called on President Ulmanis, but the latter protested firmly against any German interference in Latvian affairs. Soon after, in March, a secret organization believed to have connexions with Germany was discovered; the arrest of some thirty-five German Balts followed, and, on April 1, a decree was issued dissolving all the economic organizations which had not already complied with the economic decrees of the previous January.[1]

Estonia. The bulk of the Estonians themselves belong to the small peasant class, which was emancipated from serfdom in the last century; a few are labourers and artisans, and there is a small middle class. The national minorities, which in 1934 amounted to 11·8 per cent. of the total population of 1,107,059,[2] consist chiefly of Russians, Germans, Swedes, and Jews. Nearly three-quarters of the Russians are poor peasants living in the eastern frontier districts, the other

[1] The famous Riga *Gesellschaft* was spared, as being a purely cultural union.

[2] TABLE 5. *Population of Estonia According to Race.*

Race	1922		1934	
	Number	*Percentage of total*	*Number*	*Percentage of total*
Estonian . . .	970,707	87·68	997,923	88·2
German . . .	18,319	1·66	16,346	1·5
Russian . . .	91,109	8·23	92,656	8·5
Swedish . . .	7,850	0·71	7,641	0·7
Jewish . . .	4,566	0·41	4,434	0·4
Others . . .	14,506	1·31	7,190	0·7

quarter being composed chiefly of ex-officials of the Imperialist Russian régime. In 1922 there were about 18,000 refugees, formerly members of the White Russian army of General Yudenich. The German minority, which is almost entirely Lutheran, consists mainly of merchants, artisans, industrialists, and expropriated Baltic Barons; most of them live in the towns, as does also the small middle-class group of Jews. The Swedes are concentrated on the coast and in certain islands, where they earn a livelihood as fishermen and peasants. A certain number of Letts inhabit the districts near the Latvian border, several of which were in dispute between the two countries in 1918.

Estonia has a well-earned reputation for the model treatment of her national minorities. The Constitution of 1920 (Articles 12 and 20–3) guaranteed instruction in their mother tongue to racial minorities, and granted every Estonian citizen the right to declare to what nationality he belonged. Racial minorities had the right to establish autonomous institutions for the preservation and development of their national culture, so far as was compatible with the interests of the State. In districts where the majority of the population belonged to a racial minority the language used in the local administrative bodies might be the language of that minority, without prejudice to the right of Estonian nationals to use their own in dealing with such bodies. Article 23 provided that individual German, Russian, and Swedish nationals should have the right to address the Central Administration in their own languages, and foreshadowed the passing of special laws regulating the use of those languages in the courts. In view of this comprehensive charter of rights, Estonia considered superfluous the Declaration guaranteeing minority rights which was required of her by the League of Nations on her admission in 1921, and she only consented to make a general statement, similar to that of Latvia, on September 17, 1923.[1]

On February 4, 1925, a Law of Cultural Autonomy was adopted, providing that any minority numbering not less than 3,000 persons should have the right to exercise national autonomy.[2] The administrative organs of cultural autonomy were to consist of the Cultural Council, with not less than twenty and not more than sixty

[1] On two occasions German landowners in Estonia sent petitions to the League of Nations relating to agrarian reform, once in February 1921 (before the Declaration of 1923) and again in May 1926. In neither case did the petitions come before the Council.

[2] If such a minority expressed the wish to do so, a register was drawn up in which any citizen over 18 years of age might enter his name, the sole criterion of his nationality being his own declaration. If less than half of the adult citizens entered in the last census as members of the minority enrolled, no further steps were taken and no fresh application could be made for three years. Otherwise, the next step was to hold elections for a Cultural Council, the convocation of which required at least half the votes registered. Finally, the right to exercise cultural autonomy was granted if two-thirds of the Council expressed the wish for it.

361 Lithuanian population was allowed complete cultural liberty until after the Franco-Prussian War of 1870; nor was the campaign then initiated for the Germanization of the district ever carried to such extreme lengths as to alienate the loyalty of the Lithuanians to the [162] Crown. In 1918 the population of the city itself was almost entirely German, while the bulk of the inhabitants in the country districts were of Germanized Lithuanian-speaking stock, although a certain number were bilingual.[1] The majority had adopted the Protestant faith of their German rulers.

361 438 Memel's prosperity, under the German Empire, was based on the timber trade and its dependent industries; a considerable amount of flax, grain, and other agricultural produce was also exported, and, largely owing to German enterprise, iron foundries, shipbuilding yards, breweries, and chemical factories had been set up.

648 361 *The Post-War Settlement.* At the Peace Conference in Paris there was some discussion of a French proposal to constitute a Greater Poland, which should include the whole of Lithuania as well as an outlet to the sea at Memel. Eventually, however, it was decided to detach the Memel district from Germany with a view to handing it over to the new Lithuanian Republic, if and when that country should have received *de jure* recognition. In spite of German protests,[2] therefore, a clause was inserted in the Treaty of Versailles (Article 99) to the effect that Germany renounced all right to the territory in favour of the Allied Powers, and undertook to accept the settlement made in regard to it 'particularly in so far as concerns the nationality of the inhabitants'.

Even after the *de jure* recognition of Lithuania by the Allied Powers, which was delayed, owing to the Vilna dispute, until November 1922, the future of Memel remained undecided. In the meantime, the administration of the territory had been taken over on behalf of the Allies by Général Odry, who was later replaced by a French High Commissioner, M. Petisné.[3] Alarmed by a French

[1]

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TABLE 11. *Population of the Memel Territory.*

Date of census	*German-speaking*	*Lithuanian-speaking*	*Bilingual*	*Memel-landers*	*Others*	*Total*
1910	71,191	67,345	1,970	..	260	140,766
1925	61,671	39,106	..	35,690	5,373	141,840

[2] In a Note of May 29, 1919, Germany contested that the inhabitants were predominantly German—the city of Memel, in particular, being a purely German town—and had never desired such a separation; moreover, they offered to establish a free zone in the harbour of Memel, in which Poland, as well as Lithuania, should be accorded liberal privileges. The Allied Powers replied that the district as a whole was predominantly Lithuanian in origin and speech, and that the port of Memel was the only sea outlet for Lithuania.

[3] A Committee of Seven, which had been appointed by a preliminary Parliament (elected

1. [i.e. Memel -- Analyst]

2: Milosz S-5 (no date)1953 El Europe
Baltic Countries KBL

instituted. Thousands of cattle-cars loaded with people moved towards uninhabited areas of Euro-Asia. The years in which Western Europe began to enjoy a precarious peace were far from peaceful for the Baltic countries. Villages whose inhabitants were dead, deported, or in hiding stood plundered and empty. The wind whistled through the apertures of broken windows and smashed doors. "Hitlers come and go, but nations remain," the Generalissimo declared in the moment when victory over Germany was certain. As far as smaller national groups are concerned, this statement should be amended to read: "Nations come and go, but the countries remain." In the words of an official of the Center, spoken in 1946: "There will be a Lithuania; but there will be no Lithuanians."

I do not know how many thousands of men and women these states lost before their economies were "reconstructed," i.e. before 1950. Perhaps no one knows the exact statistics. The number of foreign settlers ordered to the places left by the departed natives might serve as an index. Moreover, the process is not yet finished. Collective farmers have been imported into the rural areas; administrative cadres and their families, into the cities. In the streets one hears Russian spoken more frequently than Estonian, Latvian, or Lithuanian. The great majority of the Party leaders and higher government officials have Russian names.

The aim of all these moves is to inter-mix the population of the Union. Only by dissolving individual nationalities in the "Russian sea" can one attain the goal of a single culture and a single universal language. The territory that once linked the Baltic states with Germany has been settled by Russians. The city of Koenigsberg, within whose walls Kant was born and spent his entire life, has been renamed Kaliningrad and there is no longer any trace of the